7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

241 311 the hollow of the rock the vegetable mould; then hedges round with stones his walls of cunning fertility to conceal and increase them. From below you gaze upwards at barrenness: from above you look down on an arabesque of verdure: the rosy hues of the fresh turned furrows, the soft green of sprouting crops, nestling within the puckerings, grey and brown, of layers of limestone cast up on end, the faces of which are worn like glaciers. This is their arable land in the central range. (Urquhart, 1860, Vol. I, p. 1.)

3. One gets the vivid impression that the farmer of Bsharreen has lost heart and has lost faith in farming. He is looking somewhere else for a possible solution of his problem, which is now the problem of his growing children—employment outside the village, engaging in business, or emigration. (Tannous, 1941, p. 662.)

461 554 454 4. Nowadays young men, especially Maronites and other Christians, many of whom are educated, are unwilling to work on the land. They prefer jobs in the towns, and feeling that many of them would rather live with their families, unemployed and aimless. So, too, the women of the more sophisticated villages no longer work long hours in the fields. A great part of the income of the Lebanese villages is currently derived from sources other than farming—from earnings in the towns, for example, or emigrants' remittances, or the renting of houses to visitors in the mountain summer resorts. (Lewis, 1955, p. 7.)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

565 tarian. Though *individuals* are rated on a scale of values from excellent to worthless, such judgments do not seem to be applied to groups of people. Every person and every family are social equals because everyone is descended from the same man, the founder of the village. No one is a tenant on the land of anyone else, and it is important in this connection to recall a statement made earlier to the effect that villagers do not like to work for each other in menial tasks.

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Families are to some extent distinguished from each other in terms of prosperity, but this seems to apply only to conjugal, or at most, to extended families. Numerous examples were given of families now well off which a few years ago had been poor, and vice versa. Notable prosperity or poverty both seem to be regarded as transitory situations mostly due to "luck." No patriline or lineage seems ever to have become entrenched for a long period either in poverty or in wealth.

The only groups which appear to be blanketed as socially inferior are some of the affiliate families whose founders came as outsiders to work as wage-laborers. (cf. Barth, 1954, p. 166.)

There *are* some suggestions that in time there may develop a distinction which could definitely be called a class distinction between villagers who are well-educated workers and those who remain in the village as manual laborers and farmers. The distinction would be the result of a wide divergence of interests and values.

CONCLUSION

621 A few important points which have been made in the course of this chapter should be isolated and fixed in mind before we proceed further.

1. Genealogically and conceptually, [illegible] is a single superlineage, segmented into maximal and minimal lineages.

2. Village endogamy is the traditional pattern and, in general, is still the ideal. The fairly numerous exogamous marriages are concomitant with recent culture changes whose impetus is external to the village.

3. In terms of function, the maximal lineages appear to be vestigial institutions.

4. The minimal lineages are name groups, they define ordinarily the maximum range of inheritance privileges, and they probably serve as solidary units in times of crisis.

5. There is inconclusive evidence of a dual organization of the village both in the past and the present, but it cannot be satisfactorily correlated either with lineages or cliques.

6. Marriage choices are free within the village, except that the marriage of all first cousins, and closer relatives, is prohibited.

7. The specific marriage prohibition is an aspect of the fact that every individual is a member of a strong bilateral kindred of two, but usually not more than two, generations.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

VILLAGE LIFE VERSUS CITY LIFE

It should be apparent by now that the village as an institution is a significant focus of loyalty and identification for everyone in it regardless of age. This unity of sentiment is not, however, matched by unity of opinion as to which is better, living in the village or living in the city. On this three different points of view were expressed: (1) regret at the passing of the "good old days," coupled with complete resignation to the present situation; (2) regret at the passing of the "good old days" coupled with the desire to revitalize village life, by bringing in irrigation; (3) outspoken preference for the material advantages and comforts of city life, without, however, much spiritual satisfaction in it. By adhering to any one of these views, the average Munqifi necessarily finds himself afflicted with nostalgia, frustration, or both.

Illustrative of the first point of view is the following quotation from the remarks of a middle-aged resident. The occasion was a moment when the investigator had stopped to ask about an enormous mound of small stones, one of many in the village.

> Our grandfathers worked very hard. They took the stones from the ground and put them here, so they could plant. Now people do not work hard. Our grandfathers worked hard, and they lived well. Now we are poor. They were not rich, but they were strong and well.

The second point of view was expressed by another middle-aged man as follows:

> Most of these young people now don't want to work the way their grandfathers did. They want to go to Beirut and make a few easy piasters. And when they get a job there, what happens? It costs so much to live there that they are not any better off than they would be here.
>
> I would like to see these young people settle down here on the land again. Most people here don't want to make a lot of money. All they really want is to make enough so they will not be hungry and without clothes. That is why we need to bring water to the village. Not many can live on the land here now because the land is so poor, because it needs water.

One can read into this statement the problem which many of the young people face: educational emphasis leading away from village life and its satisfactions over and beyond the problem of adequate financial return.

The third point of view was revealed, in significantly ambivalent form, by a young adult who had received the highest type of education. He once remarked: "I think those of us who live in Beirut appreciate the ways of the village more than those who live in the village all the time." But he immediately added that there was very little to do in the village, and for a person of his interests and ambitions, this was certainly the truth. He went on to voice the concern of many young fathers

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 369 who worked in the city over where they would send their children to school, back in the village or in the city.

Another young adult was completely explicit in his expression of preference for the material and mechanical conveniences of city life which are not available 461 556 302 in the village. The scorn for manual labor on the part of Western-educated Arabs has been noted by other students, and is clearly in evidence. In Beirut, for example, Arabs of the most modest means employ a housemaid if they possibly can. This "effendi-complex" is symbolized by many men by a practice whose resemblance in both form and meaning to a proverbial Chinese one is really quite striking—the nails of the little fingers are allowed to grow conspicuously long. This practice is not followed by everyone, but it is very common.

NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA

186 The rise of nationalism in the Middle East, especially since 1918, is a much written upon topic, full details of which cannot and need not be given here. But we are concerned with the way in which the rise of nationalism has affected the Lebanese village in general, Munṣif in particular. Tannous sums the matter up in the following words:

> Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. *National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon* [our italics]. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. *Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities* [our italics]. (Tannous, 1949, p. 162.)

The penetration of nationalistic sentiments into villages such as Munṣif would, of course, have been impossible without modern techniques of communication, [494] particularly the press and radio. Rapid surface transportation also has drastically reduced the number and extent of isolated communities. And nationalism itself is a consequence of, and a reaction to, the culture contact situation. (Cf. Schorger, 1952a, p. 31.)

As has been pointed out, the public school curriculum includes regular exhortations in the interests of patriotism, national pride and unity. Small national flags are frequently seen displayed in such unconventional places as automobiles and buses. The national emblem (a cedar tree with triangular foliage and a thick, short trunk) is often seen, in Munṣif and elsewhere, scrawled on walls. It is by no means true, however, that national loyalty has replaced local loyalties in the manner, for example, of modern Japanese villages (cf. Embree, 1939, p. 302). In terms of the in-group analysis in this chapter, the nation has become, for the individual villager, the fifth in the series of in-groups which engage his feelings of loyalty and identification.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

[Munsif]

holds and in order to describe the relationships between them, capital letters will be used to designate individuals. From the village of Fidaar (south of Jbayl on the main highway) there are two households: (1) A, his wife, and his mother B; (2) C, his wife D, and three children. From the village of Ḥjuula (northward and inland from Beirut) there is one household consisting of E, his wife, an unmarried daughter, a son F, and F's wife G.

B, now a widow, was married twice. By her first husband she bore C. By her second husband she bore A and G. At one time, B's second husband was married to another woman, and from this union there came D who is C's wife. In other words, C's mother was once the wife of his wife's (D's) father. C is the half-brother of A and G who are full siblings. D is a half-sister of A and G, and by stretching things a little one might be able to say that she is a step-sister of her husband (C).

This information came to light as the result of a Core Group informant's comment that C and his wife were brother and sister. After the explanation had been made, the informant said, "Well, they *call* each other brother and sister sometimes." The relationship clearly evoked humor, but it is possible that lurking beneath the humor was a feeling that the connection was a little too close for comfort in the eyes of the Christians.

The presence and various activities in Munṣif of the Peripheral Group, the Winterers, and the Mtawli are, with one exception, concrete evidence of the *ethnic division of labor* which, in Coon's view (1951), accounts for so many of the salient characteristics of Middle East culture. With this view the present writer is in essential agreement, and a full discussion of its theoretical significance for this study is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations."

In this instance, the ethnic distinctions are primarily religious in nature. This conforms with the general pattern of the phenomenon, but there are lacking in Munṣif most of the visible cultural differentiations, such as costume, which are often so conspicuous elsewhere. One reason for the homogeneity of appearance in Munṣif is the fact that nearly everyone concerned is from the same rather small region, Northern Lebanon, although several different communities are represented.

It has been noted that there are really two classes of people in the Peripheral Group. One of these, the Greek Orthodox nuclear family from Syria, represents the kind of internal migration which is of common occurrence in the region. Long ago, a similar group by a similar action established the community itself. With respect to the Core Group, the Orthodox family in the Peripheral Group really does not exemplify Coon's ethnic division of labor. The remainder of the Peripheral Group do, however. They differ among themselves, and with respect to the Core Group, in the important matter of religion. Also, they are outsiders to the local group. In terms of the structural theory which is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations," each is a representative of a more widely distributed segment of Sphere 4 (Sect Group) within another, locally established, Sphere 4 segment which is itself an enclave in the area of another segment of Sphere 4. Functionally, all these members of the Peripheral Group serve the Core Group as hired hands in capacities which are generally regarded as menial. It was quite evident that members of the Core Group would be very unwilling to serve each other in such capacities.

What is true of members of the Peripheral Group as individuals is essentially true

6.8 Number of months of work in year previous to interview, Table 83

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As a further check on underemployment and unemployment, respondents were asked the number of months worked in the year previous to the interviews. Assuming that twelve months is full employment, we find only sixty-nine percent in this category. About ten percent were unemployed or an estimated 4438 in the city. It should be pointed out that these figures are merely for heads of families and include no other persons.

6.9 Preference of head of household for rural or urban work, Table 84

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People were asked as to the type of work preferred based on location of occupation. There is no question but that the Beirutis prefer to work in urban employment, eighty percent so indicating. Only three percent definitely prefer rural work, while the remainder were undecided.

6.10 Attitude of head of household toward present job, Table 85

In an effort to find the occupational level of satisfaction, respondents were asked whether they liked their jobs or not. A seemingly surprising seventy-six percent indicated that they did like their present positions, while only nineteen percent were definite in their dislike.*

6.11 Reasons of head of household for liking present job, Table 86

The project asked those who liked their jobs what their reasons were for their opinion. The two largest specific categories of answers were that they liked them for economic reasons (41 %) and because they thought of them as being good training (23 %). Classification into these categories was done in the project office on the basis of the free response of the respondents.

* *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 23 (1939) pp. 547 - 64

p. 18(6)

6.12 Reasons of head of household for disliking present job, Table 87

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For those unhappy in their present positions, the major reason given was economic (44 %) but the second largest group (28 %) resented their jobs because they were too hard.

6.13 Occupational preference of head of household, Table 88

Respondents were then asked to state the occupation in which they would like to be employed. Free responses were again taken and were judged as to their level of reality. That is, if a porter wanted to become a surgeon, it was judged to be an impossible level of aspiration. Forty percent of the respondents were so satisfied with their present position that they indicated no other desires. Only seven percent were judged to have impossible desires in occupations. This is particularly striking since no attempt was made to precondition the respondent by limiting his range of choice. The Beiruti head of household seems to be practical even considering that thirty-two percent expressed job preferences which were improbable.

6.14 Occupational preference of head of household for eldest son, Table 89

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A striking difference between the respondents own occupational desires and those which they held for their children, at least male children, was revealed in answer to the question as to what they would like their eldest sons to be. Each of the response categories is striking. The same lack of impossible objectives was seen, occuring as it did in only six percent of the cases. A slightly different category was used, namely "very possible" into which forty-four percent of the answers fell - indicating a higher level of hardheadedness in attitudes toward children than towards themselves. Fewer wanted their children to continue in their present occupations (7 %). Of course, this may be low

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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because a number are not of working age as yet. Some insight into the psychology of the household heads is evidenced in the low number (4 %) who answered freely that they wanted their eldest sons to choose their own jobs.

6.15 Incidence of village work by head of household for part of year, Table 90

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Respondents were asked if they worked in the villages part of the year. Only one in twenty answered affirmatively. Since the sample is so small further analysis is unreliable. Results are presented, however, for whatever interest they may have in Tables 91, 92 and 93.

Summary

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The classification scheme is crude, but is believel to give a fairer breakdown in the major categores than any existing system. Some of the categores are too broad, but further refinement was impossible with this size sample.

For a city its size, the division of labour is quiteextensive. Beirut is a city of small businesses eking out a subsistence. As a footnote to this, it must be pointed out that many people have more than one job, far more than is usual in mostcities.

As the division of labour is splintered, so also do many people operate as jacks-of-all-trades. For example, the tinker-plumber-electrician-plasterer service-man is a combination which combines the skills of what would be decidedly separate occupations in many cities. One unfortunate result of this is the all too often low levd of skill which results from mastering none ofthe services fully.

It will be remembered that respondents were drwn only from political Beirut. The proportion of occupations are therefore only for the cityresidents. They might conceivably be altered if those who commute to the city had been inluded in the study.

p. 19(B)

Table 84

Preference of Head of Household for Rural or Urban Work

Area preferred	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1853	100.00	
Rural	64	3.45	.004
Urban	1489	80.36	.009
No choice	42	2.27	.003
Don't know or No answer	258	13.92	.008

Table 85

Attitude of Head of Household Toward Present Job

Attitude	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1595	100.00	
Likes it	1210	75.86	.010
Does not like it	299	18.75	.010
Don't know	86	5.39	.006

18 Cornell L.Q. (1933) 1934 MEI Library MEI

p. 52 (A)

Table 86

Reasons of Head of Household for Liking Present Job

Type of reason	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1191	100.00	
Economic	493	41.39	.014
Good training	278	23.34	.012
Easy	33	2.77	
Prestige	10	0.84	
Future	5	0.42	
Other	351	29.47	.013
Don't know	21	1.77	

Table 87

Reasons of Head of Household for Disliking Present Job

Type of reason	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	292	100.00	
Economic	129	44.18	.029
Training in other job	11	3.77	
Hard	83	28.42	.026
No future	5	1.71	
No prestige	11	3.77	
Other	52	17.81	.022
Don't know	1	0.34	

p. 52 (a)

13: Churchill 5-6 (1955) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 88

Occupational Preference of Head of Household

Degree of reasonableness	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1459	100.00	
Possible but improbable	463	31.73	.012
Possible and reachable	323	22.14	.011
Impossible	96	6.58	.006
Satisfied with present	577	39.55	.013

Table 89

Occupational Preference of Head of Household for Oldest Son

Degree of reasonableness	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1346	100.00	
Possible but improbable	405	30.09	.012
Very possible	592	43.98	.013
Same as father	108	8.02	.007
Impossible	83	6.17	.006
What he is doing	100	7.43	.007
What he chooses	58	4.31	.005

p. 572(c)

13: Churchill S-S (1959) 1964 MIT Libraries MIT

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

Unified in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Munsif maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Munsif, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 58 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the stokers at each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Munsif in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are snowbound at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Munsif and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwali (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Munsif only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.[9] The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Localism. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Munsif has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Munsif.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

[9] Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).